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TUESDAY
AUGUST 31, 1954

I went this morning to meet Spaak at de Staercke's apartment. They had come to Paris this morning from Italy and Spaak was spending only an hour here before going on to Brussels. I sent this telegram on my conversation with him:

"SENT: SECSTATE WASHINGTON. NIACT. COLED 31.

"LIMIT DISTRIBUTION.

"FOR SECRETARY FROM BRUCE.

"Spaak came to Paris for an hour this morning and has since returned to Brussels. He asked me to send you urgently following comments.

"1. French Govt has committed an indecency in democratic parliamentary procedures in shutting off debate. This is due to Mendès-France, who has deliberately falsified what took place in Brussels in his determined efforts to kill EDC.

"2. The U.S. will be lacking in loyalty to the other European countries, which have consistently backed its European policy, if it now permits itself to be tricked by Mendès-France into a conference of occupying powers in Germany, before NATO has been seized of the problem, in an emergency meeting, as provided for by Secretary of State Dulles this spring.

"3. Question of German sovereignty inseparable from that of German rearmament.

"4. Spaak has dropped any idea of calling four, six, or seven nation conference in advance of emergency NATO meeting.

"5. This message should be read in connection with immediately following message. BRUCE."

DEPARTMENT OF STATE A/CDC/MR
REVIEWED BY CLC DATE 7-1-81
□or XDS□EXT. DATE
AUTH. REASON(S)
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Meanwhile, an urgent telegram had come from Department saying that Foster intended to make a statement to be released at noon today in Washington (5:00 p.m. Paris time) and requesting our immediate comments. I drew up a hasty message and took it over to talk with Dillon and Hughes. (Dillon had

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already answered. After suggesting certain changes in the text, I made the following observations:

" SENT: SECSTATE WASHINGTON. NIACT. COLED 32.

"FOR SECRETARY.

"Re Deptel 757.

" * * * * * * * * * * *

"These are the only textual changes I would advocate in this excellent and strong paper. However, it seems to me that something else must be added to it in the way of a program of action. Otherwise it will be regarded as merely a reaffirmation of principles already and frequently pronounced by us. Since we have no certitude the Germans will accept a return of sovereignty with the limitations imposed by the Bonn contractuals and by the protocols now under discussion in London, and since the question of German sovereignty and German rearmament are almost inextricably intertwined, I strongly advocate the Secretary's statement conclude with a demand for the convocation of an emergency meeting of the North Atlantic Treaty Council not later than October 1 to review the situation created by yesterday's French parliamentary action, and further to deliberate upon the German problem.

"This leaves unsolved the method by which consultation may be had with the Chancellor. Some appropriate means must be found to do so. In this connection, it is all-important that Mendès not be allowed to talk with us, the British and Germans to the exclusion of our other partners in NATO about this situation. This is what Mendès will undoubtedly count upon in order to fortify himself against the bitter criticism which is now pouring in against him from all parts of Europe. Also, this would be considered by the Benelux countries as a betrayal

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of them. They are likely to feel that, although we have a right, as occupying powers, to exclude them from such conversations, their interest is as great as that of France in spite the differences of population, in assuring the security of Western Europe.

"They will undoubtedly think that the French should be faced with all their partners in NATO before any action or program is adopted by the U.S., U.K. and France in regard to the German problem.

".* * * * * * * BRUCE."

Jean Monnet came to my house early this afternoon. He had thought of resigning from the High Authority if the EDC Treaty were rejected. He has now wisely decided not to do so but to await developments during the next couple of months. He may then resign in order to free himself from his international personality and have complete liberty to express himself on French policy. He thinks the European idea is not dead and will revive when it is realized the alternatives to it for German rearmament are neither practicable nor desirable.

The reaction of the French press today on Sunday's vote continues mixed. There is jubilance in the Communist and pro-Mendès, regret and bitterness in the pro-European journals.

Ophuls came to the house and I discussed with him the line the Chancellor might now take. I urged that Adenauer make no hasty statement, since a declaration would be forthcoming from Washington later in the afternoon which the Chancellor might wish to take into consideration.

I had some of the newspaper men in for drinks -- Messrs. Schoenbrun, Clark and Howard Smith of CBS, Preston Grover of AP, Ed Korry of UP, Barrett McGurn of the New York Herald Tribune, and Bob Kleiman of U. S. News and World Report. Harold Callender could not come, since he was listening to the debate in the

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Assembly. This debate ended tonight with an overwhelming vote in favor of the postponement of further discussion of French foreign policy until the Assembly reconvenes on September 7. Callender telephoned me tonight to say that during the debate Mendès had clearly outshown all his adversaries. He said the spectacle was that of a schoolmaster correcting unruly, emotional, and comparatively stupid pupils.

I went over with the journalists the various courses of action apparently open to the United States Government.

Afterwards, E. and I went to Marne-la-Coquette, where I talked things over with Al Gruenther. He is pleased with Dulles's decision to have an emergency meeting of the NATO Council, and thinks it important that, meanwhile, Mendès should receive no encouragement to carry on bilateral conversations with us regarding German rearmament. He will communicate his views in this respect to President Eisenhower.

The declaration issued by the Secretary late this afternoon is as follows:

"The French rejection of the European Defense Community is a saddening event. France thus turns away from her own historic proposal, made nearly four years ago. That proposal sought a unification of the military strength of Continental Europe into a single European Army so as to end the era of recurrent European wars, the last two of which became World Wars.

"The French action does not change certain basic and stubborn facts:

"(A) The effective defense of Continental Europe calls for a substantial military contribution from the Germans; yet all, including the Germans themselves, would avoid national rearmament in a form which could be misused by resurgent militarism;

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"(B) Germany cannot be subjected indefinitely to neutrality or otherwise be discriminated against in terms of her sovereignty, including the inherent right of individual and collective self-defense. Limitations on German sovereignty, to be permanently acceptable, must be shared by others as part of a collective international order;

"(C) The prevention of war between neighboring nations which have a long record of fighting cannot be dependably achieved merely by national promises or threats, but only by merging certain functions of their government into supranational institutions.

"To deal with these facts was the lofty purpose of EDC. Four of the six prospective members of EDC had ratified that treaty -- Belgium, Germany, Luxembourg, and the Netherlands. A fifth, Italy, was on the point of ratifying it. The UK and the US had made far-reaching commitments of association with EDC. France thus disassociates herself not only from her own proposal but from her prospective partners who had stood united at the recent Brussels Conference.

"The U.S. post-war policies beginning in 1946, were framed on the assumption that Western Europe would at long last develop a unity which would make it immune from war as between its members and defensible against aggression from without. The imperative need for that unity was recognized by the leading statesmen of all the free nations of Europe. The U.S. joined the North Atlantic Treaty Defensive Alliance with the Western European countries. We assisted these countries to recover from the weakening of World War II. Both on the economic and military side we made massive contributions. We stationed the equivalent of six divisions in Europe. We furthermore made our leading military figures available to assume high positions in the military organization designed

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to defend Western Europe.

"The French negative action, without the provision of any alternative, obviously imposes on the United States the obligation to reappraise its foreign policies, particularly those in relation to Europe. The need for such a review can scarcely be questioned since the North Atlantic Council of Ministers has itself twice declared with unanimity that the EDC was of paramount importance to the European defense it planned. Furthermore, such review is required by conditions which the Congress attached this year and last year to authorizations and appropriations for military contributions to Europe.

"The Western Nations now owe it to the Federal Republic of Germany to do quickly all that lies in their power to restore sovereignty to that Republic and to enable it to contribute to international peace and security. The existing treaty to restore sovereignty is by its terms contingent upon the coming into force of EDC. It would be unconscionable if the failure to realize EDC through no fault of Germany's should now be used as an excuse for penalizing Germany. The Federal German Republic should take its place as a free and equal member of the society of nations. That was the purpose of the resolution which the United States Senate adopted unanimously last July, and the United States will act accordingly.

"The United States stands ready to support the many in Western Europe who, despite their valiant efforts, are left in grave anxiety. We need not feel that the European idea is dead merely because, in one of the six countries, a present majority seems against one of its manifestations. There is still much on which to build, and those foundations should not be shaken by any abrupt or any ill-considered action of our own.

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"It is a tragedy that in one country nationalism, abetted by Communism, has asserted itself so as to endanger the whole of Europe. That tragedy would be compounded if the United States was thereby led to conclude that it must turn to a course of narrow nationalism. It is a matter of elementary prudence that the United States should review its dispositions and planning in the light of the new situation now created. We are fortunately so situated that we do not need to identify ourselves with what to us seem self-defeating policies. We have flexibility to adjust our own policies to take account of developments elsewhere. In doing so, we shall be governed by the realization that we cannot, in isolation, find safety for ourselves.

"When the NATO Ministerial Council came to adjourn last April to meet next December, I pointed out that if the EDC failed of realization, that would create an emergency situation which would call for a special meeting of that council. That condition has arisen, and the United States believes that there should promptly be a special meeting of the NATO Ministerial Council, as well as early consultations with Chancellor Adenauer. We shall move accordingly."

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